

JX
1963
C28
P2
1909

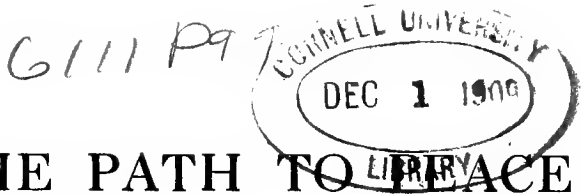


Cornell University
Library

The original of this book is in
the Cornell University Library.

There are no known copyright restrictions in
the United States on the use of the text.

<http://www.archive.org/details/cu31924006612604>



THE PATH TO PEACE

Reprinted
From the London "Times" of June 19, 1909
(Slightly revised)

By
ANDREW CARNEGIE
PRESIDENT

THE PEACE SOCIETY
OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK
507 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

THE PEACE SOCIETY OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

PRESIDENT
ANDREW CARNEGIE

SECRETARY
SAMUEL T. DUTTON

TREASURER
ASTOR TRUST COMPANY

CARL LORENTZEN, Auditor

VICE-PRESIDENTS

Lyman Abbott
R. Fulton Cutting
Richard Watson Gilder
Charles E. Hughes
William R. Huntington
Henry M. McCracken
George B. McClellan

John Bassett Moore
Robert C. Ogden
Alton B. Parker
George Foster Peabody
Horace Porter
Elibu Root
Oscar S. Straus

Horace White

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Andrew Carnegie
John B. Clark
Thomas Cochran, Jr.
Samuel T. Dutton
Robert Erakine Ely
Mrs. Charles H. Farnsworth
Hamilton Holt

Charles E. Jefferson
George W. Kirchwey
Frederick Lynch
Marcus M. Marks
Miss Mary J. Pierson
Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer
Robert C. Watchorn

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Mrs. Robert Abbe
Alfred J. Boulton
S. Parkes Cadman
John B. Clark
Robert Erskine Ely
Charles P. Fagnani
Mrs. Charles H. Farnsworth
John H. Finley
Algernon S. Frissell
Hamilton Holt
Charles E. Jefferson
George W. Kirchwey
Henry M. Leipziger
Frederick Lynch
William A. Marble

Marcus M. Marks
William H. Maxwell
John E. Milholland
William C. Muschenheim
George A. Plimpton
George Haven Putnam
Miss Mary J. Pierson
Ernst Richard
Lindsay Russell
Wm. Jay Schieffelin
Charles Sprague Smith
Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer
James Speyer
Mrs. Henry Villard
Robert C. Watchorn

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
WILLIAM H. SHORT

507 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

THE PATH TO PEACE

Your New York correspondent advised you by wire of the proceedings of meetings of the Peace Societies of New York and Chicago, which called upon our President to exert his influence for peace and "especially to secure an agreement among the powers for a speedy arrest of the ruinous competition of armaments now prevailing."

The New York meeting suggested his inviting a conference of the powers, which I, as President of the Society, approved, but I am bound to say that subsequent travel in Europe has modified my views. It is not from America, but from Britain, such invitation should come.

Wherever one travels upon the continent to-day the chief subject of conversation among intelligent men is the British Dreadnought and its consequences. Dreadnoughts might and probably would have been introduced sooner or later by another nation than Britain but, unfortunately for her, they were not. It is the British Dreadnought the people hear of in other countries, and she alone is blamed for the serious consequences flowing from its introduction.

There seems no possibility of preventing the other naval powers from following the example of Britain and Germany, and altho our industrial Republic has nothing to covet and has repeatedly refused to give the Executive more than one half the battleships demanded, it may be impossible to prevent even her from increasing her fleet rapidly like the others. Thus no power will gain much in naval strength over another, for relatively their positions will remain substantially as before. These enlarged navies, instead of tending to ensure peace, will increase the danger of war.

What a strange spectacle the naval powers present

to-day! Go where one will, he hears the men in power lamenting the necessity forced upon them for increasing armaments, one after the other explaining that they must increase their navy and this only for "protection."

The Emperor of Germany and Prince Von Buelow urge nothing for their increased armaments except "protection" for their commerce and their coasts.

The latter addressed the following message to the British ministers of the Prince of Peace:

"I sincerely hope that our guests and Christian brethren will bring the conviction home and publish the fact that there is living on this side of the North Sea a peaceful and laborious people which heartily desires, as well as its Government, to live peacefully in friendship and neighborliness with its brethren beyond the Channel."

Not a voice is raised in Britain except for needed protection from assault. So with the good men of France. So with Austria and Italy. So with President Taft, who recently wrote:

"The policy of the United States in avoiding war under all circumstances except those plainly inconsistent with honor or its highest welfare has been made so clear to the world as hardly to need statement at my hands. I can only say that so far as my legitimate influence extends while at the head of this Government, it will always be exerted to the full in favor of peace, not only as between this country and other countries, *but as between our sister nations.*" (Italics are mine.)

One leader is more insistent than another that his country's aim is to secure peace, the only end it has in view. If this be untrue, there is not an Emperor, King, President, nor Prime Minister in the world to-day who does not perjure himself every now and then, protesting that his country desires nothing but to live in neighborly friendship with all others.

Are these public men, who have risen to eminence and enjoy the confidence of their fellow-countrymen, perjuring themselves? No, far from this; they speak the sober truth from the heart. They feel what they utter. The desire for peace is genuine. "Give us peace in our time, O Lord," is the prayer of civilized nations and rulers. Ambassador Bryce, speaking at the Peace Conference in America, corroborates this. He says:

"Every nation is conscious of its own rectitude of purpose and believes its armaments are for its own safety and will not be used aggressively."

This being accepted, unfounded suspicion must be the root of all this trouble. Every additional battle-ship tends to convert suspicion in neighboring nations into hatred, and then a misinterpreted word, movement or accident, which would otherwise have been easily explained, becomes the cause of war. For war usually arises not directly from the possession of armaments by a nation but from the suspicions aroused in neighboring nations by the creation of these armaments. Hence the impossibility of increased armaments ever being conducive to peace. Suspicion, fear, hatred, and hence the danger of war, increase in compound ratio as armaments increase.

It is the old story; two neighbors have a slight misunderstanding which mutual explanations would readily have dispelled, but one in an unguarded moment says to the other, "I'll make you behave like a gentleman." "You can't do it," is the ready response. One decides to buy a pistol, not for use, but solely for "protection" if attacked. Hearing this the other feels he must have "protection" also. The first substitutes a six-chambered revolver just to be dead certain of protection. The other follows, just to be dead certain also. If the insurance company knew of this misunderstanding the life premiums of these two citizens would rise in geometrical progression with

each added weapon. Fortunately the law in civilized nations, founded upon experience which shows that a hundred deadly feuds occur where men go armed to one where it is prohibited, steps in and prohibits private armaments and punishes the law-breakers. Britain and France played the part of the foolish neighbors fifty years ago. To-day it is Britain and Germany.

Nearly a century ago (1817), Canada and America agreed that upon the inland seas, which constitute their boundary for hundreds of miles, each should place one 100-ton vessel armed with one 28-pounder. The tiny craft, one flying the Union Jack and the other the Stars and Stripes, have never fired a shot except in friendly salute to each other, and unbroken peace has been preserved. If the world had its police force on the seas, there would be the "protection from assault," which each naval power declares it only desires and is increasing its navy solely to ensure. There would remain no enemy from whom "protection" was needed. Commerce would be immune. The naval nations would be as one in friendly alliance.

Our English-speaking race has developed Parliamentary Government, abolished the last vestige of human slavery from civilized lands, was first to abolish private war between men, and was also prominent in abolishing piracy upon the seas. Why should Britain as the foremost naval power and the motherland of our race hesitate to invite the other naval powers to confer with a view to peace, and as a means of securing it suggest that they combine in abolishing war upon the seas, following the British-American example? Let this be freely discussed with other suggestions. There is nothing startling or new in this plan. It would follow a highly successful precedent covering a century. Three or four powers could be named which, united to-day to ensure peace upon the seas, would be sufficient, but many more

would respond to Britain's call. Surely, few, if any, would decline. Why should they? How could they, their aim being peace, as they all proclaim? Those who declined would reveal themselves the enemies of mankind. The peaceful powers accepting might so greatly preponderate as to see their way to form a League of Peace, and ships of war, except the few needed for police duty, would be unneeded, just as they have long been and are to-day upon the inland seas of North America, and would be left to rust at their docks. No nation would commit itself to anything by accepting an invitation to a conference. Any action taken could be made subject to ratification by the governments.

So easy the solution seems that to many it may appear unworthy of consideration. But great crises have usually easy solutions because, being the product of grave mistakes or great wrongs, total reversal of the policy pursued is what is needed. Here is the key to the present situation. There is nothing speculative about this proved solution of the very question which disturbs the nations to-day. Tho it may be rejected now, the day will nevertheless come, and that I believe soon, when this stone which the builders reject shall become the head of the corner. It has proved itself the panacea for war upon the seas.

Has our race lost the breed of great statesmen or is there to-day a Prime Minister and Cabinet in Britain composed of men who dare be great and thus lead the nations out of bondage to the false god of war, becoming the foremost body of statesmen of all time by having rendered mankind the greatest service? Or is such an invitation to the powers to be the beneficent act of others more zealous in the cause of peace?

Even to attempt and fail for the time in such a cause would give to the participants lasting place among those whom coming generations are to hold in honor.

The policy of conciliation pursued by Britain has recently proved its claims to favor by brilliant successes, both in South Africa and in India. She is entitled to adopt as her motto, and none is so well adapted to the present crisis, "First all means to conciliate." Britain has also won favor in other lands by the calm, firm moderation displayed by her Government and its refusal to be stampeded into unnecessary armaments, which would only add fuel to the flame abroad, and when for years to come its naval supremacy is perfectly secure. It has avoided bluster and maintained a dignified reserve.

Mr. Editor, in all truth and soberness, it should no longer be permissible for any two powers in jealous rivalry to build Dreadnoughts contingent upon what each other may do, thus compelling all other naval powers to follow their ruinous and, in this the twentieth century, saddening example, or to become defenceless.

This is no mere German-British affair. It is a world-wide issue, and the next step, momentous as it may prove for good or evil, is apparently for Britain to take as the inventor and first adopter of the Dreadnought.

Whatever the final result, if Britain played the part of peacemaker, as suggested, she would have the moral support of the enlightened public sentiment of the world with her, a tower of strength. If repulsed she would have her quarrel just. It is not for any non-citizen to advise; she will choose her own path; certain it is, however, she could play no nobler part nor one that would redound in history more to her honor and glory, illustrious as that history is, for henceforth it is the triumphs of peace through conciliation, not those of brutal war through the slaughter of our fellowmen, that are to make nations venerated in after ages.

I write as one who loves his native land.

Cornell University Library
JX 1963.C28P2 1909

The path to peace.Reprinted from the Lon



3 1924 006 612 604

olin

